Kansas Before 1854: A Revised Annals
Compiled by Louise Barry

Part Three, 1804-1818

1804

Upper Louisiana was transferred, officially, from France to the United States in ceremonies at St. Louis on March 9. Next day, Amos Stoddard (as U.S. agent) proclaimed the establishment of American authority in the district.

The newly-acquired Louisiana territory west of the Mississippi was divided (by act of congress, March 26) into the Territory of Orleans (which later became the state of Louisiana) and the District of Louisiana (which, effective October 1, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Indiana).


The Lewis and Clark expedition (45 men in a 55-foot keelboat and two pirogues) which, on May 14, had started up the Missouri from near St. Louis, encamped on June 26 “at the upper point of the mouth of the river Kanzas,” and remained for three days. In his journal, William Clark wrote:

[The Kansas river] . . . receives its name from a Nation which dwells at this time on its banks & [has?] 2 villages one about 20 leagues & the other 40 Leagues up. [The explorers’ report made clear that the Kansa were in one village (near the Big Blue’s mouth), the location “20 leagues” up being a former village site.] those Indians are not very numerous at this time, reduced by war with their neighbours, &c. [Their population was estimated at 300 warriors and 1,300 in all, in the report.] they formerly lived on the South banks of the Missouri 24 Leagues above this river in a open & butifull plain, and were very numerous at the time the french first Settled the Illinois. I am told they are a fierce & warlike people [and, according to the report, a “dissolute, lawless banditti”], being badly Supplied with fire arms, [they] become easily conquered by the Aiauway [Iowa] & Saukees [Sacs] who are better furnished with those materials of War, This Nation is now out in the Plains hunting the Buffalo. . . .

Continuing up the Missouri on June 29, the explorers camped on the north bank. On the 30th, after a ten-mile journey, they stopped for the night on the south (Kansas) side where Sgt. Patrick Gass recorded in his journal “there were the most signs of game I ever saw.” On July 1 camp was on one of the “Isles des Parques or field

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Is'l'ds" near the south bank—facing a (Kansas) prairie [about opposite present Leavenworth]. The following evening, Sgt. Charles Floyd wrote in his journal:

... Campt on the N Side, on the South Side was a old French fort [Fort Cavagnolle of the 1740's and '50's] who had setled hear to protect the Trade of this [Kansas] nation in the valley the Kansas Had a village between tow pints of High Prairia Land a Handsome Situation for a town. [This was in Salt creek valley, northeast Leavenworth county.]

On July 3 they passed Isle au Vache (Cow Island), negotiated a stretch of sand bar, and stopped overnight on the south (Kansas) bank, half a mile beyond an old, deserted trading post [above present Oak Mills, Atchison county].

At sunrise on July 4 one shot was fired from the keelboat's swivel gun. When the travelers came to a creek flowing in from the south (Kansas) side, they named it "Fourth of July creek." Above was a high mound where three Indian paths centered, and from which there was "a very extensive prospect" [at present Atchison]. Some miles farther on they stopped on the north side, about a mile above a stream flowing in from the Kansas side—a stream which they named "Independence creek." Their camp was opposite the second old Kansas village [i.e., across the river from present Doniphon]. Wrote William Clark: "... we closed the [day] by a Discharge from our bow piece [and] an extra Gill of whiskey."

On July 5 the explorers spent the night on the Kansas side, and Clark recorded:

I observe great quantity of Summer & fall Grapes, Berries & Wild roses on the banks. Deer is not so plenty as usual, great Deel of Elk Sign.

On the seventh and again on the ninth of July [on which date they passed several miles beyond Wolf river, Doniphon county] their camps were on the Kansas bank of the Missouri.

Meriwether Lewis’ “... Summary View of Rivers and Creeks, Etc.," presumably prepared at Fort Mandan (N. D.) where the Lewis and Clark expedition wintered in 1804-1805, included these notes on the Kansas river:

... it takes it's course nearly East about 300 leagues [750 miles] through fertile and leavel, plains & praries, intersperced with groves of timbered land.
... it has been navigated 200 leagues [500 miles] and there is good reason to believe ... that it is navigable for perogues much further perhaps nearly to it's source.

Of more consequence was the summary’s table of distances on the Kansas, which named (and gave distances, width, and direction of)
a number of its tributaries in addition to the already-known Republican and “Bluewater” (Big Blue) rivers—among them “Worrahruza” (Wakarusa) river, “Grasshopper Creek” (now Delaware river), and “Solomon’s Creek” (Solomon river). But the distances (from the mouth of the Kansas) as listed in the table were notably inaccurate.

Nicholas King prepared a manuscript map of the Missouri country which was available to several government offices early in 1806. Its data (including the Kansas tributaries’ names) came from a sketch map William Clark had drawn during the winter of 1804-1805 and sent to Washington.


Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, was appointed agent of Indian affairs for the District of Louisiana on July 17, by President Jefferson. He was charged to give particular attention to the Osage Indians.

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 13, pp. 81-83.

Outfitted with trading goods by William Morrison (a Kaskaskia, Ill., merchant), Jeannot Metoyer and Jean Baptiste Lalande (Labarde?) went up the Missouri to the Pawnee villages on the Platte in the summer[?]; and followed up the Platte to its headwaters, it is said, before making their way to Santa Fe, accompanied by some Pawnees and guided by Joseph Gervais (who was reported to have made an earlier 1804 trip to New Mexico, and to have taken a party of Pawnees to Santa Fe in 1803). So far as known, these traders were the first to take goods overland from the American settlements to Santa Fe. “Lalande” remained in Santa Fe.

Experienced *voyageurs* Lorenzo Durocher and Jacques d’Eglisse also went up the Missouri in 1804 intending to go overland to New Mexico. Both reached Santa Fe but perhaps not together. (Durocher is on record at Santa Fe in early 1805; d’Eglisse is not placed there definitely till late 1806.)

It may be that none of these adventurers crossed present Kansas in traveling to Spanish territory.


1805

Gen. James Wilkinson (commander in chief of the army) was appointed governor of the Territory of Louisiana by President Jefferson on March 11. (By a March 3d act of congress, the District of
Louisiana had been changed to the Territory of Louisiana which was to operate under a governor, secretary, and three judges.)


On September 2 the “Arkansas band” (see 1802-1803) of Osages (400 warriors; 1,500 persons in all) living on the Verdigris [near present Claremore, Okla.] arrived at the Great Osage village [on the Little Osage river in present Vernon county, Mo.]. Next day, Lt. George Peter (emissary of General Wilkinson) counseled with assembled chiefs and warriors about the upcoming Indian peace council, a proposed visit of Indians to Washington, and Wilkinson’s plan to place a military post in Osage country. Indian Agent Pierre Chouteau tried, unsuccessfully, to reconcile and reunite the two bands.

Lieutenant Peter estimated there were 2,000 persons, a fourth of them warriors, in the 120-house Great Osage village; and 1,400 people, 400 of them warriors, in the 85-house Little Osage village five miles to the northwest (visited by him on September 5). By his calculation the Osages had a fighting force of 1,300 men.

Ref: Ibid., pp. 231, 232. When Capt. Z. M. Pike took a census of the “grand village” in 1806, he reported there were 502 men, and a total of 1,695 persons in the 214 lodges. (Pike’s letter of August 30, 1806, in Appendix to editions of his An Account of Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi. . . .)

At St. Louis, on October 18, through the efforts of William Henry Harrison (governor of Indiana territory) and Gen. James Wilkinson (governor of Louisiana territory), a reconciliation-and-peace treaty was effected between the Delawares, Miamis, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Sac & Foxes, Kaskaskias, Sioux (of Des Moines river), and Iowas, of the one part, and the Great and Little Osages of the other part.

Ref: Ibid., pp. 245-247.

One or two Kansa were among a delegation of Indian leaders making a visit to Washington in the latter part of the year. On October 22, General Wilkinson wrote (from his St. Louis headquarters):

The Deputation destined to visit the President, will commence their journey this day under the conduct of Capt. [Amos] Stoddard, and will consist of twenty six persons from eleven Nations, (to-wit) The Ottos, Missouri, Panis, Canzes, Osage, Sacque, Reynard [Fox], Ayoua [Iowa], Kickapoo, Petowattomee, and Miami, eight of these nations are strangers to us, and the seven last embrace the belligerents among whom we have been making Peace. . . .

Ref: Ibid., p. 243.

Lt. James B. Wilkinson’s party, convoying a homeward-bound chief of the Aricaras up the Missouri in the late fall, encountered
hostile Kansa about 20 leagues below the mouth of the Kansas river and returned the chief to St. Louis on December 8. Gov. James Wilkinson reported:

This body of Canezú's after their first, very rude and unfriendly interview in which both Parties took arms, marched up the River and took Post at a difficult and narrow pass, where they decoyed two American hunters on shore who were descending the River, one of whom they killed, and the other after shooting an Indian made his escape, but unfortunately fell in with our Camp in the night, and not answering the challenge was fired upon and mortally wounded. . . .

I am fearful this disposition of the Canezú, may be excited by agents from St Afee, but the nation has not more than three hundred warriors and a word to our friends the Osages would destroy them. . . .


1806

In the spring the Spanish learned of the impending American expedition (Pike's) to the western frontier, and quickly assembled an imposing cavalry force (100 dragoons, 500 militia; more than 2,000 horses and mules) equipped for six months. Under command of Lt. Facundo Melgares, this company left Santa Fe about mid-June to accomplish several objectives: to intercept any American parties found in Spanish-claimed territory; to explore the northeast frontier of New Spain; to visit the Comanches, Pawnees, and Kansa.

As Pike heard the story from Melgares, the expedition descended the Red river [i.e., the Canadian] for 233 leagues; met, and counseled with, the great bands of Comanches (following a ceremonial meeting at which three Spanish officers on jet black horses, attended by 500 men on white horses, rode out on a prairie to be received by 1,500 colorfully arrayed and well-mounted Comanche warriors); then moved northeastward.

Changing course to the northwest in what is now south-central Kansas (judging from Melgares's route as traced on Pike's map), the Spaniards reached the Arkansas [perhaps near present Larned] in August. Melgares left part of his force at the river crossing, and continued northward with some 350 horsemen to the Pawnee Republic village on the Republican river, arriving in late August, or early September. He held councils with assembled Grand, and Republic band, Pawnees and presented gifts (flags, commissions, grand medals, and four mules each for the head chiefs). The Indians were much impressed by the size (and the gifts) of the Spanish expedition.

The Pawnee Republic village [whether located, in 1806, in present Republic county, Kansas, or in Webster county, Nebraska, or else-
where, remains a controversial issue] was the farthest point reached by Melgares and his men. Having no news of Americans in the area, the Spaniards turned back to the Arkansas. The reunited force then followed up the river to the mountains before turning southward. In October the expedition reached Santa Fe.

Ref: Z. M. Pike’s journal (1806-1807), under entries of September 25, and November 11, 1806; also Pike’s map; and his letter of October 1, 1806 (in Appendix to editions of his work).

C: Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, with a company of 22 (Lt. James B. Wilkinson, Dr. John H. Robinson; three noncoms; 16 privates; and Baronet Vasquez, interpreter) set out from near St. Louis August 9, on an expedition to the West which began with a journey up the Missouri and Osage (by boat), conveying 51 Osages to their villages [in present Vernon county, Mo.] (There were, also, two Pawnees to be escorted home.)

Pike spent two weeks (August 19-31) among the Osages; held councils with White Hair, and The Wind (chiefs of the Great, and Little villages), and other head men; took a census of the towns; collected Indian data; and with some difficulty and frustrations obtained pack horses, and arranged for a few Osages to accompany him to the Pawnee Republic village.

The overland march began on September 1. Pike and his party started out on the “Osage trace” [entering present Kansas in Bourbon county], but left it on the 5th. They crossed the headwaters of “the [Little] Osage, White [Neosho or Grand], and Verdigrise rivers”; and halted September 11 on “a large branch of Grand river” [it was the Cottonwood’s South Fork—in present Chase county]. Next day they “passed some very rough flint hills,” and from one height Pike noted “... in one view below me, buffaloes, elks, deer, cabri[e] [antelope], and panthers.” Camp that night was on the “main branch of Grand river” [the Cottonwood—in Chase county]. (The Osages “owing to their great fear of the Kaneses” led the party “too far to the south” thereby adding many miles to the tedious journey.)

On September 17 the explorers crossed the Smoky Hill [northeast of present Lindsborg?]; and forded the Saline on the 18th [near the Saline-Ottawa county line of today?]. From a Pawnee hunter, met on the 22d, they learned of the recent presence of the Spanish expedition (see preceding entry). On the 23d they crossed the Solomon [west of present Glasco?]. Next day a number of Pawnees came to meet them; and on the 25th as Pike’s small party neared the
Republic town some 300 mounted Pawnees rode out to give them a ceremonial welcome.

(On the Republican river’s south bank, in Republican county, Kansas (southwest of Republic), is the site of a Pawnee Republican town of the late 1700’s or very early 1800’s. When attention was directed to it in the 1890’s, conclusions were made that Captain Pike had visited the Republic band at the “Kansas site.” (See E. B. Cowgill’s 1897 address “Where Was the Pawnee Republic,” in Kansas Historical Collections (KHC), v. 7, pp. 301-311.) Efforts of interested parties culminated in the erection there of a Pike-Pawnee Republic monument which was dedicated in 1906 (see ibid., pp. 261-317).

(Some 35 miles distant from the “Kansas site,” on the Republican’s south bank, in Webster county, Nebraska (southeast of Red Cloud), is the site of a Pawnee Republican town of the very early 1800’s. Following its identification (by A. T. Hill, in 1923) there arose a controversy over which village Pike actually visited. (See Nebraska History, Lincoln, v. 10, pp. 157-261; Twenty-fifth Biennial Report . . . Kansas State Historical Society . . ., pp. 101-129.)

(Archaeologist W. B. Weidel (a native Kansan) in his Introduction to Pawnee Archeology (published in 1938 as the Bureau of American Ethnology’s Bulletin No. 112) offered the opinion that the Nebraska or “Hill site” is the “probable site” of the Pawnee Republican village Pike visited in 1806 primarily because “it coincides in every respect with both the descriptions in the journal and the map of the expedition”—which the “Kansas site” does not.

In addition to Pike’s journal, his map, and the references noted above, essential reading for anyone probing deeply into this subject would include Elliott Coues’s exhaustive study of the explorer’s route in his 1895 edition of Pike’s Expeditions (v. 2, pp. 392-441); Theo. H. Scheffer’s article on Pike’s trail in Saline and Ottawa counties in KHC, v. 15, pp. 240-247; and Zebulon Pike’s Arkansas Journal, edited by S. H. Hunt and A. B. Hubert, published in 1921. See, also, last Annals entry for 1825.

“The immediate borders of the Republican fork near the village consist of high ridges,” wrote Pike, “. . . an exception to the general face of the country.” On one of the heights Pike and his men camped, but next day “. . . moved down the prairie hill, about three-quarters of a mile nearer the village . . . [and pitched] . . . camp upon a beautiful eminence,” from which they could overlook the Pawnee Republican towns which, according to Lt. James B. Wilkinson, were:

. . . composed of the followers of a dissatisfied warrior [Iskatappe] who first made this establishment, and the adherents of a regular chief of the Grand Pawnees [Sharitarish] who migrated thither some few years since with his family, and usurped the power of the Republican warrior. To such a pitch does this party spirit prevail, that you easily perceive the hostility which exists between the adherents of the two chiefs.

Twelve Kansa arrived on September 26 to see Captain Pike. Two days later he called together the Osages of his party (Shingwawa and four warriors), and the Kansa (Wahonsongay and eight head men), counseled with them and “made them smoke of the pipe of peace.” (See 1808 for the effective Osage-Kansa treaty.)

On September 29 occurred the grand council of the American party with the Pawnee Republican Indians (some 400 men), at which Captain Pike demanded that the Spanish flag displayed over the
chief's door be taken down and replaced by an United States flag. The Pawnees at first ignored the request but when the demand was repeated:

... After a silence of some time, an old man rose, went to the door, and took down the Spanish flag, and brought it and laid it ... [at Pike's] feet; and then received the American flag, and elevated it on the staff. ...

The Pawnees were appeased and generally satisfied when Pike returned the Spanish flag to their keeping.

Pike's determination to continue westward to the Arkansas headwaters, in opposition to Chief Sharitarish's wishes, created a tense situation for the Americans during the remainder of their stay. But, as Lieutenant Wilkinson reported it:

On the 8th of October we made some few purchases of miserable horses at the most exorbitant prices, and on the 7th, unmoved by the threats of the Chief ... we marched in a close and compact body until we passed their village, and took the large Spanish beaten trace for the Arkansas river.

When some 300 Pawnees (on a buffalo hunt) overtook them on the 9th, Pike's resolute attitude again forestalled threatened trouble. He and his party continued south by west but after a time lost the Spanish trail (obliterated by a buffalo herd). Pike, Robinson, and Vasquez became separated from the others on October 15, but three days later found the company camped on the Arkansas [in the present Great Bend area]—a camp which was their headquarters for ten more days.

On October 28 Wilkinson's party (see second entry following) started down the Arkansas in two newly-made canoes (one from a cottonwood; the other of buffalo and elk skins); while Captain Pike with 16 men (and the horses) marched up the river toward the mountains, following the Spanish trail.

[The subsequent experiences of the expedition—the winter explorations (and terrible hardships) in the Colorado Rockies; Pike's months at Santa Fe and Chihuahua in Spanish custody; his eventual release (July 1, 1807) at Natchez—were also covered in Zebulon M. Pike's journal of July 15, 1806–July 1, 1807. That journal, supplemented by Pike's "Observations on ... New Spain ... ." and his important maps and charts, was first published (at Philadelphia) in 1810 in a volume which included Pike's 1805–1806 journal of his voyage up the Mississippi to its sources.]

Appraising the country surrounding the "rivers Kansa, La Plate, Arkansaw, and their various branches," Pike commented (journal entry of February 5, 1807):

... it appears to me to be only possible to introduce a limited population. The inhabitants would find it most to their advantage to pay attention to the rearing of cattle, horses, sheep and goats: all of which they can raise in abundance, the earth producing spontaneously sufficient for their support. ...
Between September and November, 1806, Capt. Zebulon M. Pike, First U. S. infantry, spent eight weeks or more in present Kansas. His Osage guides, on the journey to the Republican Pawnees' town on the Republican river, carefully avoided the country of the Kansa—their enemies. (But Pike arranged a tentative Osage-Kansa peace treaty while at the Pawnee village when a small party of Kansa visited him there.)
Between May and July, 1811, George C. Sibley, Fort Osage factor, spent about six weeks in present Kansas. With Osage companions he visited the Kansa and the Pawnees. (In the five-year interval—1806-1811—notable changes had occurred: the Republican Pawnees had moved to the Loup Fork of the Platte; Fort Osage had been established; and a permanent Kansa-Osage peace had been effected—through Sibley's efforts.)
Pawnee pictograph of a Pawnee-Kansa battle which occurred (at some time prior to 1819) when 18 Kansa warriors, approaching a Pawnee town on foot to steal horses and take scalps, were discovered, attacked, and killed to the last man in a stubborn fight, by a larger, mounted band of Pawnees. (See, also, the following page.)
Auguste P. Chouteau (headed west with Jules de Mun and some trappers) first crossed present Kansas in the fall of 1815. His fight with Pawnees during an early-1816 trip down the Arkansas led to the naming of "Chouteau's Island" in what is now Kearny county. Returning to the mountains, Chouteau, de Mun, and party fell into Spanish hands during the winter of 1816-1817; were jailed for 48 days; had their furs, equipment, and best horses confiscated. Chouteau then concentrated on trade with the Osage Indians. In 1821 (and probably in earlier years) he accompanied the Osages on their summer hunt in what is now Kansas.

Photograph of a hand-colored engraving which reproduced Artist Titian R. Peale's 1819 sketch of the Pawnee artist's pictograph portrayed in bright red, yellow, green, and black on a buffalo robe presented to Agent Benjamin O'Fallon at a Pawnee council in 1819. The engraving was published in 1822 in the volume of maps and illustrations which accompanied the first (1823) edition of Edwin James' An Account of an Expedition [by Maj. S. H. Long] From Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains.

Sixteen of the Pawnees are armed with shields. The heads of many of them are decorated with buffalo horns and feathers, or feathers only. They are armed with spears, battle axes, and one or two with firearms. One carries a flag of feathers; another a whip. In the original pictograph the Pawnee figures were marked so they could be identified. Many of the horses are shown with human scalps hanging from their mouths (a common ornament for warriors' horses); two have brands. The Kansa are armed with bows and arrows, and firearms. Nine are shown headless; wounds are indicated by the flowing of blood from the wounded part.
Of the great untimbered area he had traversed, it was Pike’s opinion:

... These vast plains of the western hemisphere may become in time equally celebrated with the sandy deserts of Africa. ... But from these immense prairies may arise one great advantage to the United States, viz., the restriction of our population to some certain limits, and thereby a continuation of the union. ...

‡ Nearing home after two years of travel and exploration in the West, the Lewis and Clark expedition, descending the Missouri, passed by the mouth of the Kansas at 11 A.M. on September 15. It was reported “very low at this time.” Next day they met a boat with eight traders bound for the Pawnee village “on the river Platte about seventy or eighty miles from its mouth,” and two hours later “a bateau and two canoes going up to the Kanowas [Kansa] nation” on the Kansas river. (While coming down the Missouri, the Lewis and Clark expedition met, in all, 11 trading parties bound upstream.)

Ref: "Thwaites" ... Journals of Lewis and Clark ... v. 5, p. 385; Patrick Gass’ A Journal of the Voyages and Travels ... Under the Command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke ... (Pittsburgh, 1807), p. 261.

‡ Lt. James B. Wilkinson, five soldiers, and two Osages left Pike’s Arkansas river camp [in the present Great Bend area] on October 28 and started downstream in two makeshift canoes. In the shallow water the boats soon grounded and had to be pushed or dragged along the river bed. After a severely cold night, the Arkansas was so full of ice they could not proceed. Abandoning the canoes, they set out October 31, to “course the river by land,” their only provisions “half a dozen tin cups of hard corn for each man.”

They marched for a week through a desolate area, but on November 8 came to the region of game, where, according to Wilkinson:

... the herds of buffalo, elk, goat [antelope], and deer, surpassed credibility. I do solemnly assert, that if I saw one I saw more than nine thousand buffaloes during the day’s march.

A week later, finding timber of sufficient size, they stopped to construct canoes, and to hunt for a “winter store of meat.” When they set out again ten days later, shallow water again slowed their progress. They passed the “Negracka” [i.e., the Minnesco—in present Sumner county] on the 26th. A canoe-upset on November 28 caused them to lose most of their meat and ammunition. But they met a party of Great Osages on the 30th [probably south of the Kansas-Oklahoma boundary] and camped with them till December 2. (Wilkinson marched 20 miles across a prairie to visit The Wind, Little Osage chief, lying ill in a winter village.)
On December 23, after three weeks of severe hardship, Wilkinson and his half-frozen men reached the winter camp of the "Arkansas band" of Osages (whose permanent village was on the Verdigris—near present Claremore, Okla.). Four days later they passed the mouths of the Verdigris and the Grand. Making better time on the lower river, and in milder weather, they reached Arkansas Post on January 9, 1807.

Ref: Wilkinson's report, dated April 6, 1807 (written at New Orleans where he had arrived in February), published in Appendix to editions of Z. M. Pike, op. cit.

1807

On March 3 Meriwether Lewis was commissioned (by President Jefferson) governor of the Territory of Louisiana, to succeed General Wilkinson. On March 7 William Clark was appointed (by the secretary of war) agent of Indian affairs for the nations (except the Osages) in the Territory of Louisiana. Pierre Chouteau's authority (see 1804), on the same date, was limited to the agency for the Great and Little Osage Indians. (Chouteau continued as Osage agent till 1818.)


Manuel Lisa's first upper Missouri trading expedition (42 men in a keelboat) left St. Louis early in May and went far upriver. After successfully negotiating with the Aricara Indians, who threatened trouble, Lisa ascended to the Yellowstone river, went up it to the mouth of the Big Horn and established a fur post—Fort Manuel [in present Montana].

(Lisa's party, with a load of furs, returned to St. Louis in the summer of 1808.)


About 95 persons were in an expedition which ascended the Missouri in the summer. They included young Auguste P. Chouteau's party of 32 (intending to trade with the Mandans); "young" Dorion's outfit of ten (headed for the Sioux country); Mandan chief Shahaka and party, also 24 Sioux Indians (all homeward-bound); and a military escort for the Indians (Lt. Joseph Kimball,Ens. Nathaniel Pryor, and some 20 men).

The Sioux were returned safely to their country. But when Ensign Pryor and troops (with the Mandans), in company with Chouteau's traders, reached the Aricara village in September, those Indians (and Sioux cohorts) forced a fight, and the retreat of the whole party. Chouteau lost four? men, and several in the expedition were
wounded. (Chief Shahaka was returned to St. Louis. He finally reached home in 1809.)


Œ Francis Derouen [Dorion], to trade with the "Kaas [Kansa], Ottees and Panis," and Pierre Montardy, to trade with the Kansa, were granted licenses on August 24. One-year hunting licenses on the Kansas river were given to B. and J. Vallett (on August 31); to Lebeech and Derchette, and Louis Conoville (on September 12).

(The trading license lists for the April-September, 1808, period contained no reference to the Kansa or their river. But Dorion apparently traded with the Kansa in the winter of 1809-1810. In 1819, "Mr. Gunville" [Louis?], a French trader, was living in the Kansa village when Say's party was there in August. See, under 1819.)


1808

Œ Gov. Meriwether Lewis, on July 1, wrote the secretary of war concerning frontier problems:

The Kanzas, Panis Republic, a considerable body of the Great Panis, the Woof Panis, Mahas and Poncarras have all declared in favour of the Spaniards. Our friends on the west side of the Missouri are consequently reduced to the little Osages, the White Hair's party [of Big Osages], the Ottees, Missouries and a part of the Big Panis [Grand Pawnees], not amounting to more perhaps than one thousand warriors, and those even doubtful unless measures be taken to retain them by establishing trading posts on the Missouri... last winter the Mahas killed two engagees, robbed their traders and sent me an insolent message. the Kanzas have also robbed their traders and have been extremely insolent...

The Osages generally, the Kanzas, Panis republic, and a majority of the Great Panis are by appointment at this time assembled at the Great Saline about 300 miles West of the Osage villages. The purpose of this meeting is to hold a council with the Spaniards and as it is understood by invitation of the latter...

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, pp. 198, 199. (The Great Salt Plains meeting was probably in Alfalfa or Woodward county of present Oklahoma.)

Œ In the early autumn, Capt. Eli B. Clemson's company of First U. S. infantry began work on a fortification (Fort Osage) on a 70-foot-high bluff of the Missouri about 340 river miles above St. Louis, and over 40 miles by water below the mouth of the Kansas. This post (first called Fort Clark) was on a site chosen by William Clark (who also supervised the start of its construction). Established for the protection of the Osage Indians, it was formally
named Fort Osage on November 10. Clemson's company garrisoned the post while George C. Sibley, as factor, ran the government's trading post.

(Evacuated in June, 1813, as a War of 1812 tactic, Fort Osage was reoccupied in 1815. Until 1819 a few troops were stationed there. In 1822 the government factory system was discontinued, and in 1825 the post was abandoned officially.)

Ref: American State Papers: Indian Affairs, v. 1, p. 765; Missouri Historical Review, v. 54, pp. 439-488 (for Kate L. Gregg's "The History of Fort Osage"), v. 54, pp. 843, 844. (Today, an authentic reconstruction of Fort Osage [with block houses, factor's house, officers' quarters, barracks, interpreter's house, and stockade] stands on the original site near Sibley, Mo.) According to a table of distances on the Missouri (published in B. F. French's Historical Collections of Louisiana [Philadelphia, 1850], pt. 2, p. 590), based on findings of Long, Nicollet, and others, from the mouth of the Missouri to Fort Osage (at low water) was 340 miles, and from the fort to the mouth of the Kansas was 42 miles. Other tables vary considerably.

¶ At the new post Fort Clark (Fort Osage) on September 27, Factor George C. Sibley counseled with chiefs and warriors of the Osage and Kansa tribes. The Indians smoked the peace pipe and effected what proved to be a permanent peace between their nations. Also, the Kansa professed to be sorry for past offenses (especially the ill treatment given their traders), and Sibley granted them permission to move near the fort. On October 10 about 1,000 Kansa arrived in the vicinity and soon began trading. Six days later their "insolent and violent conduct" caused the factor to bar them from the post.

(William Clark reported, from St. Louis on December 2, that "strong and well built" Fort Osage was nearly completed; and that Sibley's policy of refusing to trade with the Kansa was having "a very good effect," and they were "becoming very humble" and had "given up several horses, to pay for the horses and property which they have robbed the citizens of this Territory of laterly.")


¶ On November 10 (about the time "Fort Clark" became Fort Osage) a treaty was concluded at the new post between the Osage Indians (Great and Little) of the Osage river country, and the United States (Pierre Chouteau acting for the government).

In return for the friendship and protection of the United States, a small annuity, and other promised aid, the Indians ceded millions of acres of land in present Missouri and Arkansas. In what is now Missouri they retained only a strip along the western boundary (the area south of the Missouri river and west of a line running straight south from Fort Osage).

First to sign for the Great Osages was their grand chief Papuisea
(White Hair). Nicheumanee (the Walking Rain) led the Little Osage signers.

(On August 31, 1809, the "Arkansas band" of Osages [on the Verdigris, near present Claremore, Okla.] had the treaty read and explained to them by Gov. Meriwether Lewis. The first to sign was Clermont. Cashesegra, nominal leader, was the second signer. The United States ratified the treaty on April 28, 1810.)


**1809**

© The St. Louis Missouri Fur Company (an association of former fur trade rivals, organized in the winter of 1808-1809) sent its first expedition up the Missouri in the summer, to establish trading posts on the river’s upper waters.

Pierre Chouteau headed the expedition (of about 150 men, in ten goods-loaded boats), but companions Manuel Lisa (soon the company’s dominant figure), Andrew Henry, Pierre Menard, and Auguste P. Chouteau were in the party; as were, also, 17-year-old Auguste A. and Paul Ligueste Chouteau (cousins), and a Doctor Thomas (who kept a journal of the trip). Aboard, too, was Mandan chief Shahaka’s party, homeward bound.

Reaching Fort Osage on July 8, they found (as Pierre Chouteau later reported) “the Panis, Otto and Kanzas tribes . . . waiting . . . with loud Complaints because there were no merchants among them, and praying that some might be sent.”

Moving on, the expedition reached the Platte on August 1; continued, with no particular trouble, to the Mandan nation and delivered Shahaka and party safely home in the latter part of September. Henry, Menard, and most of the trappers remained in the upper Missouri country, but Lisa, the Chouteaus, and Surgeon Thomas returned to St. Louis in November.

(William Clark, Benjamin Wilkinson, Reuben Lewis, Sylvestre Labbadie, and William Morrison were other members of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. After three years of moderate success there was a reorganization under the name "Missouri Fur Company.")

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, pp. 348-352; Thomas James, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-93; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 2, p. 202; *Nebraska Historical Society Publications*, v. 20, p. 2 (for a part of Doctor Thomas’ journal). In the Kansas State Historical Society's manuscript collection are two volumes of Missouri Fur Company records. One contains the original “Articles of Association” (January 24, 1813) and board meeting minutes (January, 1812-January, 1814), together with signatures of the members; the other is an account book.
By a route later described by John Shaw as in the vicinity of the 37th parallel [the Kansas-Oklahoma boundary of today], Shaw, Peter Spear, and William Miller traveled overland with pack horses from the Cape Girardeau (Mo.) area to within sight of the Rocky mountains in the spring and summer of 1809. Hostile Indians thwarted their plan to continue to the Pacific. Returning to what is now “eastern Kansas, and western Arkansas, and Missouri” they hunted till the spring of 1811. Moving their furs and a quantity of bear oil by pack horses to the White river headwaters, the trio made canoes and journeyed down the White, Arkansas, and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans.

Ref: Wisconsin Historical Collections, v. 2, pp. 199-201 (for Shaw’s reminiscences, 1855). See, also, Missouri Historical Society Collections, St. Louis, v. 4, p. 197.

J. McLanahan, Reuben Smith, and James Patterson, with a Spanish guide, left the Ste. Genevieve (Mo.) area in November, on a trading venture to New Mexico. (Their route is not known.) In the summer of 1810 they were arrested by the Spanish on the headwaters of Red river, taken to Chihuahua (Mexico), and imprisoned for two years.

Ref: Appendix to Thomas James, op. cit., pp. 286-292; Missouri Historical Society Collections, v. 5, p. 170.

1810

The advance party of the “overland” Astorians (John Jacob Astor’s Pacific Fur Company men) started up the Missouri in three boats on October 21. Arriving in mid-November at a point above the mouth of the Nodaway [and across-river from present northeast Doniphan county] they encamped for the winter. There were over 40 men in the party, led by Wilson P. Hunt, with copartners Ramsey Crooks, Donald McKenzie, and Joseph Miller. Another partner, Robert McClellan, soon joined them.

Leaving the Nodaway camp on January 1, 1811, Hunt and eight other men walked to Fort Osage, where Hunt obtained horses and reached St. Louis on January 20. His recruiting of more personnel, and other preparations for an early spring start upriver, were only slightly hampered by the delaying tactics of rival fur trader Manuel Lisa (of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company).


1811

On the present Oregon coast, the Tonquin, carrying an Astor-financed Pacific Fur Company expedition, arrived at the mouth of the Columbia river in late March (after a journey from New York around South America), and, in mid-April, a trading post—Astoria—was begun.

Ref: Ibid.
The "overland" Astorian expedition, led by Wilson P. Hunt, started up the Missouri from St. Charles in four keelboats on March 14. Aboard as Hunt's guests for the river trip were two "scientific gentlemen"—English-born Thomas Nuttall, and Scottish-born John Bradbury (botanist and traveler). The latter's *Travels in the Interior of America in the Years 1809, 1810, and 1811* (London, 1817) contained an account (largely in journal form) of the voyage upstream (and his journey back to St. Louis in mid-summer—see next entry). Bradbury made a brief reference to present northeast Kansas [the Doniphan area] when he wrote under date of April 15:

We passed the site of a village which formerly belonged to the Kansas Indians. I had an opportunity of going ashore, and found the soil to have the appearance of the greatest fertility.

Two days later, across the river from what is now northeast Doniphan county, the Astorians reached the camp of the vanguard party which had wintered above the Nodaway's mouth. On April 21 the whole company (nearly 60 men) proceeded upstream. Six weeks later (on June 2), the one-boat expedition of Manuel Lisa (see next entry) caught up with them. After a truce was arranged between the rival fur company leaders, the two parties continued onward together to the Arica village, arriving June 12.

The Astorians spent over a month outfitting for the overland journey to the Pacific. Their party of 60 men, with 82 horses, left the Arica village on July 18. Six months later, after a journey of hardships and difficulties, most of the expedition reached Astoria (near the mouth of the Columbia river)—in January and February, 1812.

Ref: Bradbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-189; and Irving, *op. cit.*, v. 1, ch. 13-30, v. 2, chs. 1-8. In Irving's work, first published in 1836, is the most complete account of all phases of Astoria's history. (He had access to company records and available source materials in preparing his narrative.)

With an inexperienced crew of 20 to handle his one keelboat, Manuel Lisa, and four other persons, started up the Missouri on April 2, some 23 days behind Hunt's larger and better-manned expedition. Since it was vital that his small St. Louis Missouri Fur Company party catch up with the Astorians before reaching hostile Sioux country, the journey was a race against time. Aboard as Lisa's guest was an American traveler and writer, Henry M. Brackenridge, whose journal of the voyage was later published in his *Views of Louisiana* . . . (Pittsburgh, 1814). He noted, on April 24 (as they neared Fort Osage):

Passed a canoe with four men, who had wintered up the Kansas, about five hundred miles; they had beaver, and other furs . . .
On the afternoon of April 30 Brackenridge wrote that they:

... had a view of the old Kansas village ... [the same Doniphan county scene commented on by his friend Bradbury of Hunt’s party]. It is a high prairie; smooth waving hills, perfectly green, with a few clumps of trees in the hollows. But for the scarcity of timber this would be a delightful situation for a town. ...

Over a month went by before Lisa’s boat finally caught up (on June 2) with the Astorians. The rival fur traders agreed to a truce, and the combined force proceeded upriver, arriving at the Aricara village on June 12.

After supplying some horses (from his fur post above the Mandan village) to the Astoria-bound expedition, in trade for two of Hunt’s no-longer-needed boats, Lisa arranged to send his company’s collected furs downriver, placing the boats in Brackenridge’s charge. John Bradbury and Amos Richardson were other passengers for the journey. Leaving the Aricara village on July 17, this small expedition reached St. Louis early in August, making the 1,440-mile trip in a little over two weeks.

Lisa (and also Thomas Nuttall of Hunt’s party) remained in the Upper Missouri country, and Lisa eventually made rendezvous with his mountain partner Andrew Henry.


Factor George C. Sibley, with a servant, two interpreters, and 11 Osages (one of them war chief Sans Oreille) left Fort Osage (Mo.) May 11 on a journey to the Kansa and Pawnee villages. His mounted party headed “South 60° West, about 75 miles, along the Osage Summer hunting trace,” then “North 70° West, about 65 miles” to arrive on May 19 at the Kansas river bank opposite the Kansa village [two miles east of present Manhattan]. Of the surroundings on the latter stage of the journey [Wabaunsee and southeast Riley counties of today], Sibley wrote:

This [is] a very wild but extremely beautiful and high prairie country—pretty well watered and variegated with strips of woodland, ranges of lofty rugged, naked hills, overlooking extensive tracts of meadow ground. Deer and elk are plenty, and I observed some antelope skipping among the verdant hills.

Grand Chief Shone-ge-ne-gare and more than 100 mounted Kansa warriors forded the river to assist the party in the rather difficult crossing. At the 128-lodge village, Sibley found U. S. flags flying, and the Indians both hospitable and friendly. (He had recently had occasion to deal harshly with the Kansa, and the festive reception was a pleasant surprise.)
Sibley described, at some length, the scene about him (mistakenly referring to the near-by Big Blue tributary as the Republican fork!). The town, he wrote:

...is built without much regard to order; there are no regular streets or avenues. The lodges are erected pretty compactly together in crooked rows, allowing barely space sufficient to admit a man to pass between them. The avenues between ...are kept in tolerably decent order and the village is on the whole rather neat and cleanly than otherwise. Their little fields or patches of corn, beans and pumpkins, which they had just finished planting, and which constitute their whole variety, are seen in various directions, at convenient distances around the villages. The prairie was covered with their horses and mules (they have no other domestic animals except dogs).

The “stout, hardy, handsome” Kansa were “fast reforming from their brutal state,” but still at war with all their neighbors except the Osages (and only recently friends with them). He estimated they had “about 250 fighting men, with a full proportion of women and children.”

With five Kansa added to his party, Sibley set out on May 22 for the Pawnee villages, traveling “North 40° West about 120 miles” [150?—it could have been no less in a straight line to the Platte] over a route “all prairie.” Crossing the Platte “about 140 miles above its junction with the Missouri” he traveled 10[?] miles to the Loup fork, and forded it to reach the crowded 170-lodge village of three Pawnee bands (Grand and Republican) recently reunited under “venerable old Chief” Cher-a-ta-reesh (Sharitarish). [This Loup fork village may have been the “Horse Creek site,” nine miles southwest of present Fullerton, Neb.] Two of the bands had lived until “about two years ago” on the “north branch of the Konsee River” [i.e., the Republican] when “successive incursions of the Konsees obliged them to abandon their old towns.”

Sibley (welcomed and well treated by the Pawnees) remained in the village from May 28 to June 4. When leaders of the Loup band (living some 10² miles upriver) arrived, he called a grand council, presented flags and medals to chiefs of the four Pawnee bands; and effected a treaty of peace between the Pawnees, and the Osages and Kansa.

On a course “south about 16° East” Sibley and his party then headed for the Little Osage summer hunting camp on the Arkansas river [probably entering present Kansas in Republic county]. They crossed the Republican and “two other considerable forks of the Konsee [the Solomon and the Saline] and a number of smaller streams that flow into them,” and the “same range of hills that we crossed
fifty[?] miles southeast at the Konsee town." Sibley described the
"enchanting prospects afforded from these heights":

... we overlooked a vast extent of level meadow ground to the North
and Northeast, through which were to be traced a great number of rivulets and
creeks, glittering in the sunshine and hastening to the main branches of the
Konsee. Numerous herds of elk and antelope were frisking in the gay flowery
plain, giving life and animation to the charming scene. From where we crossed
the Konsee [i.e., the Smoky Hill—in McPherson? county] to the Arkansas, it
is about thirty-five miles and the country is much more level and less interest-
ing. ... The day before reaching the Arkansas, Sibley's party came to a
Kansa hunting camp "on a beautiful high spot near a small creek," and stopped overnight to help celebrate a successful kill of more
than 100 "fat buffaloes." Among the Little Osages (whose camp on the river—in Reno?, or Sedgwick? county—was reached the next
afternoon), Sibley spent some ten days—part of the time on the
march as the Indians moved "south 50° west about thirty miles to
a small prairie creek, south of the Arkansas."

From that place he rode "south 40° east" for 30 miles, to the Great
Osage camp; and the next day (after a ride of "20 miles south 15°
east") reached a third Osage camp—that of the "Arkansas band."
With eight men (six of them Osages), Sibley then set out on a
nearly-due-west course for the Grand Saline some 40 miles away.
After a tour of the Saline [in present Alfalfa? county, Okla.] about
June 24, he returned to the Little Osages' camp. (They had moved,
meantime, near the Grand Saline and may have been on the Salt
fork of the Arkansas.) Sibley, his servant, and Sans Oreille then
accompanied a "war party" of 94 Little Osages on a journey of about
75 miles "south 40° West" to visit the famed Rock Saline, or "Salt
Mountain."

Following this final excursion into present northern Oklahoma,
Sibley began the trip (of some 300? miles) back to Fort Osage,
arriving on July 11—after a two-months' and around 1,000-mile
journey.

Ref: Sibley's diary, as printed in Chronicles of Oklahoma, Oklahoma City, v. 5,
pp. 196-218; W. R. Wedel's ... An Introduction to Kansas Archeology (Wash-
ington, 1938), pp. 41, 42; George E. Hyde's Pawnee Indians (Denver, c1851), p. 105.
Sibley's too-conservative mileage estimates are not compatible with actual distances traveled
in any instance where comparison can be made.

Scientific traveler-geographer-author Alexander von Humboldt's
Essai Politique sur le Royaume de la Nouvelle Espagne was published in Paris during the year; and in New York an English translation of his compendious Political Essay on the Kingdom of New
Spain also appeared. In the atlas volume was Humboldt's map of
New Spain—drawn in Mexico in 1803)—the first map to present a reasonably accurate geographical view of the American southwest of today.

In writing of the province of Nuevo Mexico, Humboldt stated that within its bounds were three villas (towns), 26 pueblos (villages), three parishes, 19 missions, and no ranchos (solitary farms). He gave population figures of the towns as: Santa Fe 3,600, Albuquerque 6,000, and Taos 8,900.

Ref: Humboldt’s work, American edition (as noted above), v. 2, p. 216 (for the statistics).

1812

C Early in May a trading expedition (two boats) of Manuel Lisa’s Missouri Fur Company started up the Missouri. Clerk John C. Luttig kept a journal of the voyage (and later events) which included these June entries:

Monday. 8th fine weather, at 8 A.M. a fair Breeze sprung up. though feeble, we made 18 Miles distance, Killed 3 Deer 3 Bear, caught 17 fish, camped 2 Miles below the old Cansas Village [in Salt creek valley, Leavenworth county] . . . . [On the 9th they “made only 9 miles,” but traveled 19 miles on June 10.]

Thursday the 11th, fine weather head wind but still, all hunters out, passed the upper old Cansas Village [present Doniphan area], Killed 7 Deer, distance 15 Miles. [By the 18th they had reached the mouth of Wolf river— in northeast Doniphan county—where they camped on a sand bar.]

Indian harassments (British-influenced) evidently forced an end to the Missouri Fur Company’s upper river activities in the late winter of 1812-1813. (Luttig’s journal ended abruptly March 3.) The St. Louis Missouri Gazette of June 5, 1813, reported Manuel Lisa’s recent arrival from the Mandan villages; and indicated that the Aricas, Cheyennes, Gros Ventre, Crows, and Arapahoes were arrayed on the side of the British who were inciting them to war against the Americans.


C Robert McKnight, James Baird, Samuel Chambers, and nine? others, left the Missouri settlements in May on a trading expedition to New Mexico. (They were at Fort Osage on June 4.) Following Pike’s directions (but by a route not recorded) they made their way safely to Santa Fe, only to be jailed as spies, and their goods seized. Most (or all?) members of the party were held in a Chihuahua prison for nine years—released only when the Mexican revolution of 1821 succeeded.

By congressional act of June 4, the Territory of Louisiana became the Territory of Missouri, with Benjamin Howard as first governor. (The change of name was necessitated when the Territory of Orleans was admitted to the Union as the state of Louisiana on April 8.) Missouri territory’s population, as of 1810, was close to 20,000. On July 1, 1813, following Howard’s resignation, William Clark was appointed governor and served till Missouri became a state in 1820.

Ref: *Historic Missouri* (Columbia, Mo., c1959), p. 12; *Missouri Historical Review*, v. 54, p. 279.

The United States declared war on England on June 18. (The “War of 1812” lasted for two and a half years, officially ending with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814.)

Published during the year was the sixth edition of Jedidiah Morse’s *The American Universal Geography* (first issued in 1789). Morse, the “father of American geography,” made use of the latest information he could find on the Missouri and Arkansas rivers. But he devoted part of his comment on the Missouri to criticism of Lewis and Clark:

Had that [exploration] been made by men whose science, judgment, and accuracy could be relied on, we should have no difficulty in giving a complete description of the Missouri. But the latitude and longitude of no one place is calculated; a connected chain of distances is not given; nor are we informed on what authority a great many facts, which the travelers did not witness, are reported. . . . We ourselves believe, that the length of the Missouri . . . is, probably about 2400 miles. The waters of this river are remarkable for their muddiness and salubrious qualities. . . . The Missouri being much larger than the Mississippi branch some modern geographers are beginning to give the whole river the name of Missouri, which is probably its proper name. . . .

And from Morse’s geography, students of the 1812 era learned that:

The Arkansas . . . is navigable 500 or 600 miles. It rises in Mexico. Humboldt [see 1811] supposes that it may be the same with Napestle [first mentioned in this chronology under 1706], a river which rises, according to his map, in lat. 40° N., lon. 106° W. . . . and pursues for a while a S. E. course towards the Mississippi. The Arkansas having been explored a great distance, is found to run where it should have been expected to run, if it were a continuation of the Napestle, and no other outlet for this last is known. If this be its real source, the Arkansas must be at least 1500 miles long.

Ref: Morse’s . . . *Geography*, 6th ed. (1812), v. 1, pp. 122, 123, 598. In defense of Lewis and Clark, it should be noted that the complete narrative of their expedition was not published until 1814; however, some of Morse’s comments have been echoed by other critics. One (W. E. Webb, in his *The Great Plains* (1938), pp. 143, 144) has referred to the explorers’ journals as “meager and unsatisfactory,” and noted their “lack of specific detail,” the “vagueness,” etc.
1812-1813

Between June 29, 1812, and April 30, 1813, young Robert Stuart (eastbound with reports for John J. Astor in New York), and a small party (seven in all) of “returning Astorians” made a hazardous, difficult journey up the Columbia, across the Rocky Mountains (of eastern Oregon, Idaho, and Wyoming of today), down the Sweetwater to the North Platte, down the Platte to the Otoe village (some 45 miles above the mouth), and by canoe down the Missouri to St. Louis. (The total distance, by Stuart’s calculation, 3,768 miles.)

Stuart’s party (Ramsey Crooks, Robert McClellan, Joseph Miller, and three hunters) may have been the first white men to cross the Continental Divide by way of South Pass (or in its vicinity). It was the first to discover and use the Sweetwater-North Platte route which later became a section of the famed Oregon trail. Robert Stuart has been credited as “the first to find and follow a route from the Pacific to St. Louis that could be utilized by wagon trains.”

He kept a journal (rewritten and expanded between 1813-1821 as “Traveling Memoranda”) which included observations on various Indian tribes. During the last stage of the trip, as his party traveled by canoe down the Missouri in April, 1813, a stop was made at Fort Osage (Mo.) on April 24 and 25. That post, commented Stuart, was chiefly for the Osage Indians but:

. . . has been the means of reducing the turbulent Kanzes to a proper sense of the true relation in which Indians stand with their civilized neighbors.

The “returning Astorians” reached St. Louis May 2, and Stuart continued eastward to New York.


1813

By canoe, trapper Ezekiel Williams set out alone from an Arapahoe camp on the Arkansas headwaters the first of March, in an attempt to reach Missouri territory. He left behind two companions (in the camp) and a cache of furs (in the mountains of present Colorado). Trapping as he proceeded down the Arkansas, Williams traveled for some 400 miles—till shallow water halted his progress. When the spring rise came (around June 1) he continued his river journey and was “within about 150 miles of the Verdigrise” [and apparently in present southern Kansas] when captured, on June 23, by a party of Kansa. As reported (in November) by Factor George C. Sibley, of Fort Osage, the Indians:
robbed him of all he had with him, and very much abused him, as he says, and kept him prisoner to about the 15 Augt. when they released him and restored the greater part of his property. The balance (except a few articles they deny having taken) I have this day [November 30] caused the Kansas to refund and pay for.

(Ezekiel Williams had become a "mountain man" when he went up the Missouri with the fur company expedition of 1809?, or 1811?. After two winters on the Upper Missouri he accompanied a party of trappers Manuel Lisa sent southward towards the Arkansas headwaters. When Indian harassment began, following their first winter in the Arapahoe country, the trappers separated. Some were killed by Indians. Williams, and two others, finally took refuge in an Arapahoe village during the winter of 1812-1813.)


C As late as September, 1811, there were only three bands of Osages. George C. Sibley called them the Bar-har-che (Great Osages), the Eu-jet-ka (Little Osages)—both living on the Osage river [in present Vernon county, Mo.]; and the Cha-neers (the Arkansas band) dwelling on the Arkansas [i.e., on the Verdigris, near present Claremore, Okla.]. He also commented that the Osages were all "friendly and intimately connected" and the terms "Great" and "Little" referred only to the size of their towns—not to their "personal corporosity."

But Agent Pierre Chouteau’s 1813 report (dated July 29) indicated a change had occurred. The Little Osages had left their "ancient village" [perhaps in 1812?]. One band (about 60 men) had reunited with the Great Osages [a move of not more than six miles]. The other band (about 150 men) was "on the great river a Branch of the Arkansas River" [the Grand or Neosho—in present Neosho county, Kansas].

When, in 1815, the west-bound Chouteau-de Mun party was at the Great Osage village, de Mun wrote (in his journal, on October 2) that it was so called "to distinguish it from that belonging to the Little Osage, and that of the Grosse Côte [Big Hill] . . . ." [The Big Hill band later lived near Clermont’s town.] He then confirmed the residence of the Little Osages on the Neosho [in present Kansas] in his journal (October 13):

. . . towards eleven o’clock we arrived at the Grande Rivière, which hunters called the Nioucho [Neosho or Grand] on the western bank of which is situated Ligueste’s Village [Paul Ligueste Chouteau, Osage subagent, and trader] which we found deserted, the Indians having gone to hunt. This village is charmingly situated. . . .

And, in 1816, on his return journey through the same area, de Mun wrote (on March 26):
About two o’clock we reached the Nioncho: near the village we recognized an Osage family who told us that the old village was no longer inhabited, that they had made a new one about two miles lower down.

Gov. William Clark reported, in 1816, that the Great Osages on the Osage river numbered 1,600; that there were 1,800 Little Osages on the Neosho river; and that the “Arkansas band” on the Verdigris had increased to 2,600 persons.

Ref: *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, v. 5, p. 212 (Sibley); Superintendency of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, “Records” (in Kansas Historical Society, Ms. div.), v. 2, pp. 21-24 (Chouteau); *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 5, pp. 191, 192, 315 (de Mun); Grant Foreman’s *Indians and Pioneers* . . . (New Haven, 1930), pp. 26, 27. See, under 1820, changes among the Osages in the 1814-1820 period.

1814

Heading west to recover his cached furs (see 1813), Ezekiel Williams and two companions (Morris May, Braxton Cooper) left the Missouri settlements in mid-May and journeyed across present Kansas, following up the Arkansas to its headwaters.

Traveling in company were Joseph Philibert and his party of 18 hunters, bound for the Arapaho country on a trapping and trading venture. (Philibert returned to Missouri territory in 1815 to get pack horses, and supplies, for his men in the mountains.)

On the upper Arkansas, Williams retrieved his furs and hired Michael LeClerc (of Philibert’s party) as an extra hand for the homeward trip. (He had learned from the Arapahoes that the two companions of 1812-1813 he had left at their village were dead—killed by Indians.)

Williams, May, Cooper, and LeClerc brought the peltries down the Arkansas for about 500 miles, but then were compelled to re-cache them [in southern Kansas?] because of low water, and continue homeward.

(Leining, during the winter, of a plot [involving Michael LeClerc] to steal the cached furs, Williams, together with Joseph and William Cooper [brothers of Braxten], went from the Missouri settlements, by way of the Little Osage village [in present Neosho co., Kan.], to the cache early in 1815. When the spring rise came, Williams was able, at last, to take his furs down the Arkansas to “the settlement” [presumably Arkansas Post, about 55 or 60 river miles from the Mississippi].)


Gov. William Clark wrote the secretary of war on September 18:

[The British] . . . are making great exertions to gain over the Osage, Kanzis, Ottoes, & Seioux of the Missouri, which I am trying to prevent.

To deal with more distant Indian tribes, Clark earlier had appointed Manuel Lisa subagent for the nations living on the Missouri
above the mouth of the Kansas. Lisa had gone upriver on his assignment August 14. (He continued as subagent till July, 1817.) An 1815 report on Indian agents stated that Manuel Lisa:

\[ ... has been of great service in preventing British influence the last year [1814] by sending large parties [of Indians] to war [against each other, or against tribes allied with the British, is implied]. \]

Ref: *Territorial Papers of the U. S.*, v. 14, p. 787; *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, v. 5, p. 76; *Missouri Historical Society Collections*, v. 3, p. 374. The treaty ending the War of 1812 was signed December 24, 1814.

Published at Philadelphia during the year was a work entitled:

*History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed During the Years 1804-5-6.*

With its printing, the explorers’ narrative at last became available to the public in complete form. Accompanying it was:

"A Map of Lewis and Clark’s Track, Across the Western Portion of North America From the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean ... in 1804, 5 & 6. Copied by Samuel Lewis From the Original Drawing of Wm Clark."

More contemporaneous than its title indicated (William Clark had added data from Pike, the Astorians, etc., as current as 1812) this “cartographic achievement” was the “progenitor of many later maps, and one of the most influential ever drawn.”

Ref: Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Transmississippi West* (San Francisco, 1957), v. 2, pp. 31, 57, 58, for map data and quote.

1815

Between July 18 and September 16, at Portage des Sioux [on the west side of the Mississippi, not far above St. Louis], U. S. commissioners (Gov. William Clark, of Missouri territory; Gov. Ninian Edwards, of Illinois territory; and Auguste Chouteau, of St. Louis) negotiated treaties of peace and friendship with a number of Indian nations (most of whom had been allied actively with the British in the War of 1812). They were the Pottawatomie, Piankashaw, Teton, Sioux of the Lakes, Sioux of St. Peter’s river, Yankton Sioux, Maha, Kickapoo, Great and Little Osage, Sac, Fox, and Iowa tribes. (Several more nations signed like treaties in 1816 and 1817.)

And at Spring Wells [near Detroit, Mich.] on September 8, other U. S. special agents made a peace-and-friendship treaty with the Wyandots, Delawares, Senecas, Shawnees, Miamis, Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomies—nations living in Ohio and the territories of Indiana and Michigan.
The last of the 1815 treaties was negotiated at St. Louis—with the Kansa Indians—on October 28. (Edwards and Chouteau were agents for the government.) Nineteen chiefs and head men signed the document—the first formal peace agreement between the Kansa and the United States. The first seven Indian signers were: Cayezettanzaw (or the big chief), Needapy, Hazeware, Wahanzasby, Cayebasneenzaw (or the little chief), Manshenscaw (or the white plume), and Cayegettsazesheengaw (or the old chief).


In the autumn Auguste P. Chouteau and Jules de Mun obtained a trading license, outfitted a small expedition in St. Louis, and started for the Arapahoe country on the Arkansas headwaters. Their party included some independent hunters and a few Shawnee Indians. With them went Joseph Philibert (returning to his company of trappers in the mountains). On the way west, Chouteau and de Mun purchased of Philibert “his furs, goods, horses, &c., and the time of his men.”

Their route took them by way of the Great Osage village [in present Vernon county, Mo.], and “Ligueste’s Village” of Osages [see 1813] on the Neosho river. (They had entered present Kansas, presumably in Bourbon county, on October 12.) On the 21st they camped “on a fork of the Arkansas and in sight of that river” [probably the Little Arkansas, near present Wichita]. They followed up the Arkansas, and as de Mun reported:

It being late in the season, we had great difficulties to encounter; some of our horses giving out every day, we had to walk more than one-half of the way to the mountains, where we arrived on the 8th of December.

(Philibert’s men were not at the rendezvous point—the mouth of Huergano creek [some 20 miles below present Pueblo, Colo.]. In January, 1816, Jules de Mun went to New Mexico, located them, was well received in Santa Fe, and returned with the men to where Chouteau was camped in February.)


1815-1816

C Caleb (?) Greenwood and three companions who had left “Boon’s Lick” (Mo.) early in September “to hunt on one of the forks” of the Arkansas, joined forces temporarily with the Chouteau-de Mun party on November 27, 1815, when they met on the upper Arkansas.

On March 26, 1816, Jules de Mun apparently encountered Greenwood and his friends (who had recently arrived at the Little Osage village), when he reached the Neosho river [in present Neosho?
county] on his trip east [see next entry]. As de Mun somewhat skeptically recounted it, Greenwood's party had met a band of Pawnees:

... that they had pillaged them and taken even their rifles, that they had walked for 18 days [across present Kansas] to reach this village, eating only roots on the way. ...

Ref: Missouri Historical Society Collections, v. 5, pp. 171, 207, 208, 313.

1816

C Jules de Mun, Joseph Philibert, and some others, left the Chouteau-de Mun camp at the mouth of Huerfano creek [in present Colorado] on February 27, bound for Missouri territory. With pack horses and mules, they followed down the Arkansas (and across present Kansas) in March, finding the prairies barren of pasture for their horses, and proceeding sometimes at night to avoid Pawnee war parties.

On March 18 (the day they left the Arkansas and crossed to the Little Arkansas) they were near what is now Wichita. On the 26th they reached the Neosho, and on March 29 were at the Great Osage village. In April, after a 46-day journey, they arrived at St. Louis.


C Four young members of the Chouteau family were among those granted Indian trading licenses during the year:

License Name(s) To Trade With:
Mar. 12 Gabriel S. Chouteau (22, son of Auguste) Sacs and Foxes on Osage river
June 13 Jules de Mun, and Pierre Chouteau, Jr. (27) Arapahoes, Comanches, [Auguste P. Chouteau, 30, another son of Pierre, Sr., was de Mun's actual partner] etc.
Aug. 17 Gabriel S. and Francis G. Chouteau (19, son of Pierre, Sr.) Osages, Kansa, and Pawnees
Aug. 17 Paul Ligueste Chouteau (24, son of Pierre, Sr.) Great and Little Osages

(Two more of Pierre Chouteau, Sr's., boys were yet to enter the Indian trade—Cyprian and Frederick, aged 14 and 7 in 1816.)

Ref: Territorial Papers of the U. S., v. 15, pp. 190, 191; Paul Beckwith's Creoles of St. Louis (St. Louis, 1893) for Chouteau family data.

C Probably as early as March, Auguste P. Chouteau and some 20? trappers left the upper Arkansas to bring down their furs. In present southwest Kansas, "Republican Pawnees, Ottos, and Rees," "about two hundred in number" attacked them. Taking refuge on a tree-covered island in the river [five miles southwest of present Lakin,
Kearny county] they "made a sort of rampart out of their packs, forming three small redoubts, with the horses in the intermediate space," and fought off the Indians. They "had one man killed and three wounded; five Pawnees remained on the spot, and a great many wounded." The refuge was known, thenceforth, as Chouteau's Island.

Being too early for a rendezvous (on the lower Kansas) with his partner de Mun, Chouteau continued down the Arkansas to the mouth of a fork [the Little Arkansas?] and established a camp [near present Wichita?].

On July 31 Jules de Mun (camped about seven miles above the mouth of the Kansas), learned the location of his "lost" partner. See next entry.


Julie de Mun's west-bound party, heading for a Kansas river rendezvous with his partner Chouteau (bringing furs from the upper Arkansas), reached Fort Osage (Mo.) in early July. Some of his men had traveled up the Missouri in a barge; the rest, with the pack horses, made the journey from St. Louis overland. Several Kansa chiefs were at the fort, and one—White Plume—offered to go ahead with the pack horses to the river. De Mun and the rest of the company continued upriver in the barge, and entered the Kansas on the morning of July 11. They "went up about 3 leagues [seven or eight miles] as far as the big bank . . . . [and then] were obliged to stop for lack of water."

They camped [probably on the south bank, a mile or so below, and across the river from, present Muncie, Wyandotte Co.]. De Mun noted in his journal: "The antelope seems to be in great abundance here; our men killed three." On July 13 White Plume and the party with the horses arrived. Baronet Vasquez and some others left on July 15 to go towards the Arkansas in search of de Mun's partner Chouteau. But it was White Plume, who, two weeks later, brought word (from the Little Osages) of Chouteau's location on a fork of the Arkansas [probably near present Wichita].

Chouteau apparently joined de Mun in August. The latter wrote: "At the Kansas river we found ourselves forty-five. We shipped the furs to St. Louis, and started again for the mountains." (No record of the journey has been found, but logically their route to the Great Bend of the Arkansas, from near the mouth of the
Kansas, would have been that of the pathway soon to be known as the Santa Fe trail.)

('The Chouteau-de Mun party reached the upper Arkansas, wintered in the mountains, and accumulated furs. On May 24, 1817, by order of the Spanish governor, the whole company was arrested, taken to Santa Fe, and imprisoned for 48 days. The furs and outfit were confiscated—de Mun estimated the loss at over $30,000. Released from prison, the men were permitted to leave "each with one of the worst horses we had."


* By the Comanches' own estimate, 4,000 of their people died in a smallpox epidemic during the year.

(In 1804 Pierre Chouteau had estimated the Laytanne [Comanche] population as 15,000. Despite the 1816 losses, Lt. Col. William A. Trimble's 1818 report indicated they remained the "largest and most warlike nation" in the county.)

Ref: Nasattir, op. cit., v. 2, p. 760 (for Chouteau); Jedidiah Morse's A Report . . . on Indian Affairs . . . (1822), p. 259 (for Trimble).

1817

* Indian trading licenses granted during the year included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
<th>To Trade With</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 23</td>
<td>Chouteau &amp; Rivar</td>
<td>Great and Little Osages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 4</td>
<td>Francis Chouteau</td>
<td>Kansas and Little Osages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 23</td>
<td>Hugh Glenn</td>
<td>Cherokees and Osages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 23</td>
<td>Joseph Robidoux &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Indians on the Missouri and its waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 30</td>
<td>Cyrus Curtis</td>
<td>Indians on the Missouri and its waters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 6</td>
<td>Joseph and Francis Robidoux</td>
<td>Great and Little Osages</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


* At "Belle Point" on the Arkansas [near the western border of what, in 1819, became the territory of Arkansas], in December, Maj. Stephen H. Long selected a site for the military post which subsequently was named Fort Smith. (By 1822 it had been only partially completed.)

1817-1818

* The Western Cherokees (those Cherokees who had recently moved west of the Mississippi to the Arkansas river), with allied Delawares, Shawnees, Quapaws, and some Americans, went up to the Osages' country on the Verdigris and raided Clermont's village [near present Claremore, Okla.] in the absence of the warriors. It was reported they killed more than 80 old men, women, and children and took over 100 prisoners; as well as firing the town and destroying provisions. This occurred apparently in October, or early November.
(On October 6, 1818, at St. Louis, the Cherokees and their allies (of the one part) and the Big and Little Osages (of the other part) signed a peace-and-amity treaty. But warfare was soon renewed and continued, intermittently, for several years—see 1821-1822.)


1818

[] It was reported that some 400 Pawnees ambushed a party of Osages within 50 or 60 miles of the Arkansas in the spring, and only one of 48 Osage warriors escaped. In another spring engagement, seven of a party of Spaniards on a hunting expedition “in United States territory” [possibly in present Kansas] were killed by Pawnee Loups. A ten-year-old Spanish boy taken captive (to be used in a Loup sacrificial rite) was ransomed by a trader and subsequently purchased by Manuel Lisa.

Ref: Missouri Gazette . . ., St. Louis, June 19, 1818 (or, see Missouri Historical Society Collections, v. 8, p. 888); Thwaites, op. cit., v. 15, pp. 154, 155.

[] Chiefs and head men representing four Pawnee bands journeyed to St. Louis in the late spring and signed a peace-and-friendship treaty with the United States (William Clark and Auguste Chouteau were the U. S. commissioners.) The Grand Pawnees signed on June 18; the “Noisy Pawnees” or Pitahauerats on June 19; the Pawnee Republic band on June 20; and the Pawnee Mahas (Loups) on June 22.

Ref: Kappler, op. cit., v. 2, pp. 156-159.

[] On September 25, at St. Louis, William Clark negotiated a treaty with the Osages which, as he put it, ceded to the United States:

. . . the country North of Arkansas [river—in present Arkansas] from their old boundary line [of 1808], to the three forks [the treaty read “. . . up the Arkansaw and Verdigris, to the falls of Verdigris river; thence eastwardly . . .”], with a width of Sixty Miles, which will include a large body of very fine land.


[] When the Kansa visited Fort Osage in the fall, to trade, Factor George C. Sibley (acting on William Clark’s orders) made a provisional (and never official) treaty with the chiefs and head men, on September 30, to buy a part of the lands claimed by the Kansa. The western limit of the area to be ceded was described as:

Beginning at the mouth of the Nodaway river on the Missouri [across from present northeast Doniphan county] and running from thence direct to the mouth of the River La Plane a Branch of the Kanzas River [possibly the Delaware river of today], thence due South to the Neezho river. . . .
The document provided some information about Kansa leaders of 1818. First to sign was Sho-ge-ne-gare (head chief), followed by Ca-he-ga-wa-ton-e-ga (a son of the head chief), Waw-kun-nicha (2d chief); warriors Big Neck [Long Neck?], Big Soldier, Petit ma[il]gre [Little thin one], and several others.

(Seven years elapsed before the signing of a treaty by which the Kansa actually ceded any lands claimed by them.)

Ref: Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, "Records," loc. cit., v. 2, pp. 127-136.

Cantonment Martin (the first U. S. military post in present Kansas) was established in October, 1818, on the upper, timbered end of Isle au Vache or Cow Island [on the “Kansas” side of the Missouri’s channel at that time; about equidistant from Atchison and Leavenworth of today].

Captains Wyly Martin (senior officer, for whom the post was named), Matthew J. Magee, and Bennet Riley, with three companies of riflemen, arrived in keelboats. A little earlier (by October 18), Sutler John O'Fallon and three Indians had reached Isle au Vache overland from Fort Osage (about 80 miles away), bringing cattle and horses. By mid-November the 260 troops (an advance battalion for the proposed “Yellowstone expedition” in 1819) had completed log warehouses and winter quarters. Hunting, both a sport and a necessity (to supplement meager rations), became the riflemen’s chief occupation during the months Cantonment Martin was occupied. It was reported they killed “between two and three thousand deer, beside great numbers of bears, turkeys, etc.”

Lt. Col. Willoughby Morgan arrived (overland from Fort Osage) on April 13, 1819, to take command at the post.

(For the first military post in present Kansas see 1744.)

Ref: “Napton Collection” (in the Society’s manuscript division) for copies of O’Fallon letters (from the originals in the State Historical Society of Missouri); KHC, v. 1-2, p. 283, v. 8, pp. 436-441 (article on Isle au Vache); KHQ, v. 2, pp. 115, 116.

(Part Four Will Appear in the Winter, 1961, Issue.)